

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 119920
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 119920

EXDIS

FOL RPT ISLAMABAD 4630 SENT ACTION SECSTATE MAY 10, 1978.

QUOTE: S E C R E T ISLAMABAD 4630

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, PPDC, XD, US

SUBJECT: GENERAL ZIA UL-HAQ'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER ON
AFGHAN DEVELOPMENTS

REF: (A) ISLAMABAD 4469 (B) ISLAMABAD 4351 (C) ISLAMABAD 4348

1. I WAS SUMMONED BY THE FOREIGN SECRETARY LAST EVENING
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TO RECEIVE AND BE ASKED TO TRANSMIT A LETTER FROM CHIEF
MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL ZIA UL-HAQ TO PRESIDENT
CARTER ON THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN, RESPONDING TO
SUGGESTION IN REFTTEL (A).

2. SIGNED ORIGINAL OF LETTER BEING TRANSMITTED TO
DEPARTMENT (NEA/PAB) IN SEALED ENVELOPE VIA POUCH (REGISTRY

NUMBER 3750554) TODAY; FONSEC PROVIDED AMBASSADOR WITH COPY,
TEXT OF WHICH FOLLOWS:

HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. JIMMY CARTER,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

YOUR INTEREST IN THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF THE
RECENT COUP IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN MY PERSONAL ASSESSMENT
OF THIS EVENT, HAS BEEN CONVEYED TO ME BY AMBASSADOR
HUMMEL. THE CORRECT ASSESSMENT OF THE CHANGE OF REGIME
IN KABUL AND OF ITS WIDER RAMIFICATIONS IS, INDEED,
ESSENTIAL TO ENABLE US TO DETERMINE OUR RESPONSE TO IT.
YOUR PERSONAL AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW
SITUATION THAT HAS ARISEN, AND YOUR KEENNESS TO HAVE THE
RIGHT ANSWERS ARE MOST WELCOME.

AS SOON AS THE EVENTS BEGAN TO UNFOLD IN KABUL, WE
TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO CONSULT AMBASSADOR HUMMEL AND HAVE
REMAINED IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HIM EVER SINCE. WE HAVE IN
THE COURSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS ALSO BRIEFED HIM IN
DETAIL ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS AND OUR PERCEPTION OF
THEIR WIDER REPERCUSSIONS IN OUR OWN REGION AND BEYOND.
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AMBASSADOR HUMMEL, NO DOUBT, HAS COMMUNICATED TO YOU OUR
VIEWS WHICH I HOPE HAVE BEEN OF SOME INTEREST.

NEITHER ARE THE FACTS OF THE LATEST TURN OF EVENTS
IN AFGHANISTAN OBSCURE NOR IS THEIR INTERPRETATION A
DIFFICULT EXERCISE. THE LEFTIST COUP IN KABUL HAS
REPLACED A 200-YEAR OLD MONARCHIC TRADITION IN AFGHANISTAN
WITH A COMMUNIST-ORIENTED, IF NOT COMMUNIST, GOVERNMENT
WHICH WAS IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZED BY THE SOVIET UNION
AND HAS ITS FULL BACKING. INDIA JOINED BULGARIA, THE
MOST SUBSERVIENT SOVIET SATELLITE OF EASTERN EUROPE, TO
FOLLOW THE SOVIET LEAD WITHOUT ANY HESITATION OR DELAY
WHATSOEVER. THE COLLAPSE OF DAOUD'S REGIME, WITH WHICH
WE WERE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT OF OUR
DIFFERENCES, MAY HAVE BEEN WELCOMED IN NEW DELHI. INDIA
IS ALLIED TO THE SOVIET UNION UNDER THE TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION OF 1971 AND ACTS IN TANDEM WITH
IT, AT CRITICAL MOMENTS, DESPITE THE ILLUSION OF A SHIFT
IN ITS POLICIES.

THE FACTS OF HOW THE COUP WAS ENGINEERED ARE NOT IN
DISPUTE. SOVIET-TRAINED PILOTS IN SOVIET-SUPPLIED MIG'S

AND SOVIET-TRAINED OFFICERS IN SOVIET-SUPPLIED TANKS JOINED TOGETHER TO WIPE OUT PRESIDENT DAOUD AND HIS FAMILY IN A SWIFT AND BLOODY OPERATION, CLOSELY FOLLOWING THE PATTERN OF EVENTS IN ADDIS ABABA NOT LONG AGO. THE AFGHAN POLICE FORCE, WHICH WAS EXCLUSIVELY WEST GERMAN TRAINED, WAS ALSO ELIMINATED.

THE KHALQ PARTY WHICH HAS FORMED THE NEW GOVERNMENT IS COMPOSED OF LEFTISTS KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY OVER A PERIOD OF MANY YEARS. PRESIDENT TARAKI ALSO SERVED FOR A WHILE IN THE AFGHAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON WHERE HIS DENUNCIATION OF THE AFGHAN RULING FAMILY RESULTED IN HIS REMOVAL FROM OFFICE.

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HE IS NOW NOT ONLY PRESIDENT OF AFGHANISTAN BUT ALSO THE HEAD OF THE KHALQ PARTY WITH WHICH AN EXTREMIST FACTION CALLED PARCHAM MERGED IN OCTOBER 1977. THE LEADER AND FOUNDER OF THE EXTREMIST PARCHAM FACTION IS NOW THE VICE PRSSIDENT AND DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER IN PRESIDENT TARAKI'S GOVERNMENT. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE REMAINING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT ARE ALL OF THE SAME HUE.

PARAGRAPH 8 OF THE RULING KHALQ PARTY'S MANIFESTO ISSUED IN OCTOBER 1977, SPECIFICALLY MENTIONS THE DURAND LINE, THE RECOGNISED INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN, AS A "COLONIAL IMPOSITION" AND PLEDGES SUPPORT TO THE SO-CALLED "NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF PAKHTOONISTAN" IN OUR TERRITORY. IN HIS VERY FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE ONMAY 6, 1978, THE NEW AFGHAN PRESIDENT RAISED THE MATTER OF THE DURAND LINE SAYING, OF COURSE, THAT HE WANTED A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THIS BORDER ISSUE WITH PAKISTAN.

THE ENTIRE FLAVOUR AND RHETORIC OF THE NEW REGIME IN KABUL CONFORM TOCLASSIC COMMUNIST NORMS. THE COUNTRY ITSELF HAS BEEN RE-NAMED THE "DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN" ON FAMILIAR LINES. THE REGIME'SLIP SERVICE TO ISLAMIC VALUES AND NON-ALIGNMENT IS TRANSPARENT ENOUGH. THE NEED FOR SUCH CAMOUFLAGE TO GAIN TIME FOR THE REGIME TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION IS EVIDENT.

IF WE GO ALONG WITH THESE PROFESSIONS IN AN EFFORT TO ENSURE THE CONTINUITY OF THE DIALOGUE WE HAD INITIATED WITH PRESIDENT DAOUD, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE ARE UNDER ANY ILLUSION OR HAVE BEEN LULLED INTO A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY BY THE REGIME'S PROTESTATIONS. WE KNOW THAT THE AFGHAN BARRIER HAS BEEN BREACHED AND OUR COUNTRY LIES
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DIRECTLY IN THE PATH OF THE FLOOD WHICH ROLLED OUT OF CZARIST RUSSIA IN THE LAST CENTURY AND IS NOW FLOWING IN FULL FORCE TOWARDS THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE PERSIAN GULF.

IT IS THE NATURE OF THE RESPONSE TO THIS SITUATION WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF CONTROVERSY AMONG OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES. THIS IS UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE TIME IS RUNNING OUT. NOTHING WILL STOP THE SOVIET UNION FROM PURSUING ITS EXPANSIONIST POLICIES IF EVENTS ENCOURAGE IT TO BELIEVE THAT SMALL COUNTRIES ARE EXPENDABLE IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF AMERICA'S GLOBAL STRATEGY.

IN OUR ESTIMATION THE ADVENT OF THE LEFTIST REGIME IN KABUL IS AN EVENT OF HISTORIC PROPORTIONS. THE CHANGE IS OF A FUNDAMENTAL NATURE WHICH WILL HAVE A PROFOUND IMPACT ON THE BALANCE OF POWER IN OUR REGION AND BEYOND. ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR PAKISTAN ARE INCALCULABLE. THESE AND RELATED MATTERS ARE RECEIVING OUR URGENT ATTENTION. I AM CONVINCED THAT THESE ARE OF DEEP CONCERN TO YOU ALSO AND HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO SPARE SOME TIME TO GIVE ATTENTION TO THE MEASURES NEEDED TO MEET AN ENTIRELY NEW SITUATION WHICH HAS MATERIALISED EARLIER THAN WE HAD EXPECTED.

WE ARE ALSO IN THE PROCESS OF COMPARING NOTES WITH OUR OTHER FRIENDS. MY ADVISOR ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS AT PRESENT IN IRAN AND WILL BE MEETING THE SHAHANSHAH. FOR IRAN THE SITUATION COULD BE AS GRAVE AS IT IS FOR US. IT MAY NOT BE EMPTY RHETORIC TO SAY THAT UNLESS TIMELY ACTION IS TAKEN TO BLOCK THE SOVIET AVALANCE, THE OIL RESOURCES OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE ARABIAN PENINSULA MAY BE LOST TO THE WEST WITH CONSEQUENCES THAT NEED NO ELABORATION.

I AM UNABLE, MR. PRESIDENT, TO SAY IN GREATER DETAIL WHAT I HAVE TO SAY IN A SHORT LETTER. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CONVEY TO YOU IN THIS COMMUNICATION THE EXACT NATURE OF THE FORCES THAT MAY HAVE BEEN RELEASED BY THE

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TRANSFORMATION OF THE AFGHAN SCENE. A FULLER ELABORATION OF THIS THEME, WHICH IS OF VITAL CONCERN TO US AND I HOPE ALSO TO YOU, CAN BETTER BE UNDERTAKEN THROUGH A PERSONAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT A MUTUALLY CONVENIENT TIME. WITH PROFOUND REGARDS,
YOURS SINCERELY,
GENERAL

(M. ZIA-UL-HAQ)

3. SUGGEST DEPARTMENT CONSIDER REPEATING THIS TEXT
TO KABUL, DELHI, ANKARA, LONDON, MOSCOW, AND TEHRAN
FOR INFO. HUMMEL
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

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